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595 informant stated that the wives might either be sisters or unrelated: one arrangement was as harmonious as another. But another informant denied that sisters could be plural wives. Seven households in which there were two wives were remembered, four of them belonging to men now living, and I surmise that this approaches the number existing during any one man's lifetime. These informants had heard of three wives, but had never seen such a family.

A man who wants to take a second wife consults his first wife and may abide by her decision. Of course, he does not go to live with the second wife's family, but takes her directly to his establishment. The presents given in this case would amount to about the same value as those given his first wife's parents. Both wives or all three live in a single house with their husband, even when they have large families. They might, however, have separate houses in one camp. There seems to be no difference in the treatment of the two wives. When their husband dies
● [768] they separate, returning to their relatives with their children. Co-wives
428 probably share equally in the inheritance, for the disposition of property seems to be influenced chiefly by the number of their children. The impression is that the heritage is really that of the children. This is
[587] confirmed by the general practice, for if a widow re-marries soon, the inheritance reverts to her children; it does in any event when they are old enough to enjoy it.

595 In one plural marriage for which there is definite information Manakadja had already married Gwegwe$gwaia at the time the Paiute took up residence in the Walapai country. He sent her away and took a Paiute wife at Pine Spring. Later he brought his bride to the canyon and took Gwegwe$gwaia back, living with both of them until the Paiute woman died.

586 There is said to be no divorce, but I recorded other instances of arbitrary separation. Wa"kwanima sent his first wife away, after she had borne a son, Tcikapaniga, because she was "no good." He then took two wives by whom he had a number of children, Pete, Mark, etc. (see the genealogy, p. 392.) When he died the widows returned to their relatives with their little children. These children regard each other alike as siblings, the divorce of Tcikapaniga's mother makes no difference to them. In fact, Pete lived with his eldest brother before he was married. Other cases are Pagadjahuda and Supai Jack's father who separated because they were angry, and Crook's Yavapai and Roger's Walapai wives who ran off home.

586 One informant stated that a wife was not divorced even in case of
684 adultery; the husband would thrash her partner in shame with his fists,

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1911 the creek took a new course, cutting off the western margin of the field, a few feet wide. Mark could not cut the apparently abandoned trees which grow there for a public bridge without his permission—which he did not ask; hence no bridge. 423

A different conception has grown up about fruit trees, which may be owned independently of the land on which they stand. They are often planted on a relative's land. Thus, Foster planted some fig trees on Jess's (his mother's brother's son) land. When they bear, Foster and Jess, at his solicitation, will share the fruit. If Foster dies without issue, he may tell Jess to keep the trees, or else to destroy them. It is not possible to isolate the idea in most cases, because the land on which an orchard stands must necessarily be in the control of the one owning the trees, but it is significant that they customarily speak of inheriting the orchard rather than the land. So far as they are owned independent of the land, fruit trees are individual possessions, like any personal belongings.

These two notions concerning the products of the land may come into conflict. Duke owns an alfalfa field which is farmed, partly in his interest, by Billy. On the rare occasions Duke is home, he lives with Billy. When Kit Jones cut willows to thatch his house, from the field, Billy objected, maintaining that the brush belonged to him. He threatened to burn the brush as soon as it was dry; Kit believed he was sincere. Kit and Billy are equally related to Duke, being sons of Duke's father's brother and sister respectively. The Jones family (Kit's father and brothers) and Billy have interests in a large fig tree growing on this land. The situation was aggravated by earlier cases of personal conflict, and on this occasion Kit's horses were destroying the alfalfa. Kit's contentions were based, first, on his relationship to Duke, and second, on the dissociation of the produce from the land. 423 578

I do not believe that land, or at least the produce, is thought of as different from personal property, since it suffers destruction on the death of the owner like his other belongings. It is customary to let such land lie idle and weed-covered for one or two years. The crop would grow all right, but they do not like to plant on the dead man's land. Thus, Bob's widow and her son have not planted his land since his death in the winter of 1918. Nina planted a field independently of her husband; he did not plant there the year after her death. As pointed out above, Panamida used another field of hers contrary to this custom. If a man or woman died while a crop was standing, half of it would be used by the heirs and the remaining portion cut down to dry until it can be burned. It is customary to give death-bed instructions to this effect. 423 768

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422 Other property consists of houses, horses, dress, weapons and tools, and the immaterial possessions, shamanistic materials and chieftainship.
423 342 So far as houses may be conceived as individually owned, they belong to the male head, since he can send his wife (and children?) away. But nothing else is possible, since the field in which it stands belongs to him.
[462] [768] At least all the heavier work of house building is done by the men. The house is burned after the death of an inmate.

Horses and cattle are owned and herded by men alone. They have
422 [462] [175] [768] had a fair number of these ever since Spanish days: Garcés found them plentifully supplied with live stock in 1776.[1] Two or three good riding horses are killed on their owner's death; others are given away. Saddles are often burned or destroyed, sometimes being left on the horse when it is killed.

Personal possessions are not numerous. Men and women own their blankets and clothing, with perhaps a gala dress apiece. A man owns his weapons, tools, some buckskins, and perhaps a mask and charm or two; a woman her household utensils, pots, baskets, and field tools. In other words, each owns the articles peculiar to his sex. Husband and wife own and dispose of their possessions independently. I have never seen either
[593] interfere with the other's transaction when selling specimens to me:
422 advice was, however, sometimes asked and acted on. Children own little
432 or no property, a condition which struck both Cushing[2] and myself as
858 being sharply in contrast with that at Zuñi. For instance, when buying a small burden basket used solely by a little girl, her mother set the price. Laying this simply to the girl's bashfulness, I offered the coin to her Zuñi-fashion, but her mother objected, claiming it as hers. To test this, I attempted to buy a similar basket from Jess's little daughter. This had been made and presented to her by her paternal grandmother. But the bargain was struck by her parents, although they turned the purchase money over to her. Perhaps boys are somewhat more favorably situated, since they freely sold their bows and arrows when I met them hunting in sport. These weapons were all products of their elders.

428 [768] A dying man states his wishes respecting the disposal of his possessions. This includes land, although the succession to this is rather predetermined. To be sure, most of his choicest belongings, clothing, weapons, horse, etc., are burned or buried with him. Such articles as are permitted to remain are inherited by his children or by members of his family. A woman's possessions go to her children or to her own family.

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[1] Coues, 1900, I, 72.

DEATH CUSTOMS

763 [171] Relatives gather before the death and begin to cry: this however does not seem so stereotyped a procedure as that of the Mohave[1] and Walapai. The corpse is laid with his head to the northwest, his hair is
764 washed, face painted, and he is dressed in good clothes contributed by relatives and friends. Sometimes the face is covered. The following day everyone gathers to wail for several hours or perhaps the whole day.
[624] The chiefs talk, particularly to the relatives, admonishing them to care for the property of the deceased and not to commit suicide. The mourners
[171] do not sing or dance as they know the Mohave and Walapai do.

[178] Formerly, the body was placed on a pyre at some distance from the camp, together with the choicest possessions of the deceased. Nowadays it is buried with these objects among the rocks of the lower canyon level somewhere near the falls below the village. After a few days such
768 of the dead man's belongings as were in the camps on the plateau are brought down and burned on the grave. Two or three good horses are killed at the grave (their bodies are probably not burned) or they are pushed over the cliff. Saddles are often burned or destroyed; sometimes they are left on the horses. On the return of the funeral party a corpse
[783] bearer might wash his hands, or bathe, and possibly wash his clothes. There is no formal purification, nor are those who come in contact with the corpse shunned.

764 178 Cremation began to go out of use sixty years ago, the last body being burned twenty-five years back. The change was not suggested nor enforced by the whites. "We wanted to change: we thought burning was not a good way." I am not certain that the change coincided with the introduction of the Ghost dance influences in 1870.

768 179 Formerly the house of the deceased was burned. Now, as a rule, the brush covering alone is burned, the timbers being saved to re-build elsewhere, though there is no great change in location. The modern frame house is abandoned for some time. Thus, when their boy died in 1918, Prince and his family went to live with his wife's father. In 1920 he built another house across the creek from the old one, and in 1921 he was living part of the time in both structures.

768 [183] [428] Farm land which belonged to the dead is allowed to lie idle for a year or two. This is not always the case, for Panamida planted in Nina's fields (his older brother's daughter) the year following her death; though, to be sure, the field really belonged to him. Should there be dependants,

[1] Kroeber, Cal. 311.

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however, half the crop only is cut down and burned; the remainder goes to the survivors. Fruit trees may be owned independently of the land on which they stand. The owner may make a dying wish that they be cut down and burned.

Mourning may be continued by a widow for a half year or longer before she re-marries, though some marry within a few months. During this period she takes no particular interest in her appearance.

There are no mourning ceremonies (*cf.* the Walapai mourning, p. 287). In the case of Fred's death in 1919, however, most of the tribesmen met to wail for an hour or so a week after he was buried. This is said to be the first time that there has been a mourning ceremony "like the Walapai", but there was no dancing, etc. The so-called Mohave dance (p. 287) has been taken over from the Walapai mourning ceremony, but it is not used in mourning.

No offerings are made to the dead. There is no great repugnance to talking about them, but they do not like to do so freely. They never go near the burial ground, never acceded to my request to visit it, and always took my hints at searching for myself somewhat amiss. Mr. Gensler, the former agent, has noted that they are quite suspicious of the circumstances of death occurring away from the house.

Comparative Notes

Two methods of disposing of the dead are in vogue in this general area, cremation and burial. These have well-defined areas of distribution. The first area of cremation covers western Arizona, southern California, and the peninsula. This includes the Havasupai, Walapai, Yavapai, Tonto Apache, Yuma-Apache, Apache-Yuma, Mohave, Maricopa, Yuma, Cahuilla, Serrano,[1] Luiseño, Diegueño, and the people throughout Baja California (or at least most of them[2]). Kroeber's map[3] showing the distribution of the practice in southern California includes Cupeño, Juaneño, Gabrielino, and Fernandeño, for whom I have no data. The Moapa and Shivwits Paiute on the margin of this area both cremate and bury. The Pima, who normally bury, cremate those killed on the warpath, and the Navaho sometimes burn the body with the lodge. The Zuñi now bury and have been doing so for some time, but Castañeda recorded that in 1540 they cremated.[4]

[1] Information from Doctor W. D. Strong.

[2] Curtis, II, 68, 72, 88, 92, 108, 114, 117; Bourke, (c), 304; Carlsmith, 237, 337; Apaws, (c), 148; Kroeber, (a), 291; Bourke, (a), 184; Allen, 416; Russell, (d), 202; Bartlett, II, 282; Cremony (1868) states that the Mariscos bury; Trippel, 867; Hoeger, 343; Davis, (c), 94, 99; Sparkman, 230; Kroeber (f), note 13; Baegert (267) gives burial for Baja California.

[3] Kroeber, (e), 396.

[4] Lewis, (i), 278; Russell, (d), 194; Curtis, II, 10, 110; Hrdlička, (p), 43; Cremony (1868) gives cremation as the universal practice of the Pima; Lipps, 49; Stevenson, M. C., (b), 305; Winship, 518.

[Text continues on p. 295]

1:Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
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Pneuma (Continued)

551 Approximate Age

	Name	Explanation	Derivation
54	mahjó'gédjá, green, to pile.		mawá, unripe (green) color; djágédjá, to throw or pour things into a pile or receptacle.
55	dzhá'hlhwá or g'ádzwá, marked with lines.		
	tcahagdzigwá, swelling on body.	She has some.	
[168]	hamwó'dzwá, hágá'dzwá, old woman wearing a hat.	New name, 1918, after the death of her husband	hámwó'dzwa, old woman; pâi, hat.
58	tjáwadjá, heart.		
59	gwagwádjawak, (a human) moving about quickly.	Usual name.	
	pahádjá, pile of brush, sticks or hay (not stones).		
	hámwó'dzagagyádjá, tall old woman.	Usual name.	hámwádzwá, old woman; gágyádjá, tall, long.
	yáhahó'wá, protruding upper alveoli.		ya, mouth; hówá, protruding (upper alveoli only?)
70	tdahámhádzwá, tripod of poles.		
72	ahwágjá, rough.	Usual name?	ahwágja, little points [hawág, to mix up and make round.]
	tdhadzídjá, mixed up into something round.		
79	hawá, mountain sheep.		
	ni'á dzwá, green things at intervals.		niwá, green, unripe; ódjá, round things set at intervals; [ódjá, to string beads.]
83	dawáhadzwá, a little stream (of sand or water).		ahawódjá, water streaming down.
88	siyódjá		siyódja, to place close together.

2:Cliff Y-6 (a.1901) 1954 NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

said he wanted to eat more, and got up and walked; he said he was a little better. The shaman made him well quickly. 159 155

A'mal's pay would be scorned by a medical doctor. Sinyella gave him a blanket and a buckskin. Some of his friends, who had returned from a successful hunt, gave A'mal so much venison that he was faced to borrow an extra horse to carry the load.

In some way Lanoman was less progressive than the other men of his generation. Even though cremation had been abandoned by his tribe in favor of burial, he had insisted, when his young wife died, on the time-honored ritual of the funeral pyre. Custom decreed that a relative preside at this ceremony, placing the wood about and on the body, laying thereon the girl's possessions, setting the torch to the pile and waiting until all was consumed. I wondered if this had been Lanoman's task. 159 764

For the cremation, he chose the deep, shady gorge below Mooney Falls, a wilderness of ferns, shrubs and trees surrounding a turbulent pool. In one immense column of water, the Havasu River poured into this pool from a cliff more than two hundred feet high. To reach the burial place, the body was lowered by a frail ladder into the gorge. After the conclusion of the service, when the mourners had climbed to the rim, the ladder was made unusable. Lanoman wanted no invasion of this secluded spot of supernal beauy, sacred now to the memory of his wife.

Here at the foot of the "Mother of the Waters," the Indians' poetic name for the majestic falls, he left his wife's ashes to be lifted by vagrant winds and carried across the green jungle to the Blue Water. The "Mother of the Waters" would woo the girl's wandering spirit into its rainbow-colored mists, where, occasionally, her spirit, with those of the other dead, would later be seen rising and falling through the heavy spray.

The girl's favorite pony must go with her but the Indians' ingenuity was not equal to the task of lowering a live horse over the wall of the gorge that its spirit might take its departure at the pyre. So another expedient was tried. The animal was led to the very brink of the chasm. Following their tribal custom, a strip of wet 768 159

2:1liff Y-5 (ca.1901) 1954 NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
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buckskin was tied about its neck, which slowly tightened, in drying, until the pony gasped for breath and staggered helplessly; a shove sent the animal crashing over the rim. It bounced from ledge to ledge, then, caught on a projecting point, lay there to decay, far above its intended destination.

In the village, peach trees were cut to free their spirits that they might bear their sweet, luscious fruit in the new home of the beloved wife. The house was burned; the girl's name must never again be spoken.

Indeed no biographies could be more fascinating than those of our two policemen, if the author delved into the forces that made each man what he was: the cloak of courtliness concealing Lanoman, the Indian of primitive culture; Vesnor, the stern, forceful Indian of the warpath, healed by the Christians' Savior. By apportioning duties according to the merits of the man, we had an efficient police force.

When a feud broke out resulting in the destruction of growing corn, I called on Vesnor. It might mean a quarrel that would stir the tribe to the boiling point, or it might be child's play, but I wanted the help of a fearless man.

Late one Saturday afternoon Little Jim entered my office. He wore the Indians' comfortable moccasins, but his hair was cut short, white-man fashion. Faded blue jeans and a torn red shirt clung to his damp body, for the canyon walls still reflected the heat.

"Um-m," he began with embarrassment, "Me got corn. Little grow." He reached his hand down to about twelve inches above the floor to indicate his corn's tallness. "Last night, womans walk on corn. Break down. No good."

I went with him to his corn patch down in the village. It was a small plot, about fifteen feet square. The corn on one corner was broken and trampled into the ground, and everywhere were the imprints of small, bare feet.

"Whose footprints are these?" I asked, for a smart Indian like Little Jim couldn't be fooled on the imprint of a tribesman's foot.

3:James T-5 (ca. 1900) 1903
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764 ing ground. Prior to the advent of the white man the Havasupais practised cremation, and between Bridal Veil and Mooney Falls, and also on the rim of the Grand Canyon, at a place since named Crematory Point, the 764 remains of scores of burned bodies of men and women ●768 and also of horses were recently to be seen. For it was deemed of the greatest importance to give the spirit of the deceased the spirit of his dead horse, upon which he might ride to the dark abode of the underworld. Before it was burned, the horse must be strangled, and this was done by tightly tying a strip of wet buckskin around his neck, and, as it dried, it rapidly contracted and thus strangled the doomed animal. Then both human being and animal were burned.

But even this was not considered a sufficient offering to the powers of the dead. Returning to the village, a peach tree in the orchard of the dead man was cut down that it might also be "dead" and thus accompany its owner to the spirit world and give him its refreshing fruit there. On the death of a chieftain or great warrior, several peach trees — thapala — are cut down.

Of late years, however, these customs of cremation, strangling of horses, burning of treasures, and cutting down of peach trees have not been as universal as formerly. Hotouta, the oldest son of Kohot Navaho, the last of the old chiefs, had great influence with his people, and Mr. Bass succeeded in convincing him of the extravagant folly of thus wasting on the dead, to whom the sacrifices were of no benefit, that which could be of so much use to the living. Consequently his influence materially helped to change the custom from cremation to ground interment. Later, after Hotouta's death, when several families had gone back to the old

3:James T-5 (ca.1900) 1903
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habit of cremation, others exercised their influence with the Havasupais to lead them to abandon the old custom. These endeavors were all effective to a large extent, and, when Captain Navaho, the last great Kohot the Havasupais will ever have, died in 1898, he was buried instead of being cremated. Late in 1897, however, the son of Sinyela died, and though in many things Sinyela is one of the most progressive of the Havasupais, he and his brother took the boy's body across a horse, tied an axe to the corpse, and started up the canyon towards Topocobya. When they returned the axe had been used, the horse was strangled, and burned bones of human and equine bodies in a side gorge attest the hold the old superstitions and customs still have upon the Havasupai mind.

And again in the summer of 1899 — May or June — when the daughter of the present Kohot and wife of Lanoman (another son of Sinyela) died, Lanoman felt that nothing short of the old and time-honored method of cremation would be suitable for the daughter of the new chief and the wife of so smart and bright an Indian as himself. For Lanoman knew more English, perhaps, than any other Havasupai, and was afflicted with the not uncommon complaint of great self-esteem and conceit. Accordingly, the body was clothed in the finest blankets of the wardrobe, and many precious things were taken with it to the Havasu Canyon below Mooney Falls. Tenderly the body was lowered down the already nearly useless ladder, and after suitable wailing, the funeral pyre was built, the body placed thereupon, more wood heaped around and over the body, and then the whole fired. When the body was destroyed, the mourners returned, kicking

3:James T-5 (ca.1900) 1903
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764 down the upper portion of the ladder as they did so,
•768 that no other Havasupai should be burned there, and also that no white foot should again desecrate the sacred precincts of the lower Havasu Canyon. Then, that the favorite horse of the woman thus honored after her death should follow her to the underworld, it was taken to the edge of the plateau above, from which the descent to Bridal Veil and the upper portion of Mooney Falls is made, the wet strip of buckskin tied around its neck, and, as the cord dried and tightened, and the poor animal began to reel and totter in its death struggles, it was given a push, tumbled over the edge, and — instead of descending to the lower canyon at the foot of the Falls where the burned body was — fell on the shelves of limestone accretions which terrace the canyon at the side of the Falls, bounded from one terrace to another, and then, to the infinite disgust of the mourners, lodged there. And there it still remains — or what is left of it, for, as I passed by in July, 1899, though I could not see the animal, the frightful odor of the carrion ascended to the very heavens.

586 obtain custody of him (not in the legal sense). In general, however, a cooperative attitude between the parents prevails, especially after the initial bitterness which led to divorce has mellowed.

Care of Orphans

786 An orphan may be cared for by either set of grandparents. If a large family of children loses both parents, the children may be divided among a number of relatives. Sometimes, an orphan has no permanent home, going wherever he finds temporary welcome. The residence rule, the order in which the parents die, kinship category, and economic situation of surviving relatives, and attitude of relatives toward assuming responsibility for the children, are some of the factors which determine an orphan's future residence.

[788] If residence has been patrilocal, paternal relatives may desire to keep with them children to whom they are attached. A widow and her children customarily return to her father's home, for she seldom inherits land from her husband. If a widow dies after returning to the home of her parents, the children may remain with the maternal grandparents. However, such cases seem to be settled on an individual basis, rather than in accordance with a set pattern.

736 In one example, the father preceded the mother in death by about eight
768 months. The widow and children abandoned their own home to live at the camp of the widow's parents, adding seven persons to an extended family which included 11 permanent members and several semipermanent residents. Upon the widow's death, two or three of her children remained with her parents, while the others went to live temporarily with other maternal relatives, two of whom were only distantly related to the children. In this instance, there were no close paternal relatives, and the maternal grandparents were crowded and economically pressed. A few years later when the oldest boy had married, the younger children, with the exception of the youngest child, lived with him during school vacations. The girl who was the exception had been taken for a time by a white family, but tribal sentiment opposed adoption outside the tribe, so that she was given, at least temporarily, to her uncle.

736 If there are no lineal grandparents living, the children may be cared for by another "grandparent" who is a sibling of a lineal grandparent. Two examples of this in previous years were recorded, each involving several children. In both instances the children had been closely associated with these collineal "grandparents" from early childhood.

Relatives of orphans usually show them special sympathy and consideration following their bereavement. There is little doubt, however, that some

orphans fail to find security; it is not suggested that the best of relatives are ever perfect parents surrogate. In a strictly economic consideration, several children thrust upon a family constitute a significant burden in a society which has a median annual cash income per family of less than $300 (Kelly, 1953, 56) and which in former times maintained a low subsistence level. 736 [511]

While a widow has a right, and is expected, to return to her parents' home, she may reside independently. This arrangement occurred in a few cases of land inheritance from the husband. If a widow is young, she may leave her children with one or the other set of grandparents and seek work off the reservation. This, of course, is a fairly recent change in custom. In former times a widow, wherever she lived, continued gathering and gardening activities and camp work, a continuation of previous responsibilities. It may have been necessary for her to spend less time with her children, or to leave their care to someone else due to her greater economic burden. Even if she were living in the household of a relative, she probably would find it necessary to play a larger economic role than previously. Addition of nonproducing dependents meant a strain on food resources of a household already on a meager subsistence level. 736 768

In at least two instances within the last two decades, grandparents have sought custody of grandchildren upon the death of one parent. In the first case, a father who resides off the reservation was left with two small children for whom he arranged temporary care with other families. When the maternal grandfather discovered that his infant grandson had been left on the Walapai reservation, he had the baby brought to him in Supai. The father demanded immediate return of the child, and after some conflict and final intervention by Indian Service personnel, the boy was returned to his father. What settlement would have been reached in the absence of outside authoritative interference is uncertain. 736 768 603

In the second example, a paternal grandfather refused to let his widowed daughter-in-law have her small son. The widow's entire marriage had been spent in patrilocal residence, where she was the only woman in the household. Her father-in-law had been greatly attached to her husband and was similarly devoted to his grandson. The widow's mother was dead and her own father's second marriage was disrupted by frequent separations and change of residence so that the widow had little incentive to join her father's unstable household. Following her husband's death, the widow found employment at Grand Canyon, but her father-in-law refused to permit her child to leave his house in spite of the fact there was no woman present to care for the boy. Again, intervention by Indian Service employees placed the boy in the mother's custody when she was able to provide care for him. The widow has now remarried, and her son lives with her in the household of her new husband's parents. The behavior of the widow's former father-in-law in this instance appears to be an example of the manner in which individuals of aggressive or forceful mien occasionally flaunt traditional patterns. [59]

768 However, such behavior of men toward women is somewhat of a pattern in
736 any conflict situation among the Havasupai, with the exception of cases in
[562] which the interests of a woman may be protected by kinsmen with whom her protagonist wishes to avoid conflict.

A motherless child may feel almost as insecure as an orphan. Such a child may (but in practice seldom does) live with his father after the father remarries. Three or four adult men who were motherless children recalled that they felt anxiety and loneliness, and a sense of "not belonging" to anyone in particular in childhood, although their relatives had been good to them and had provided for them as best they could. In the reverse situation, an old man whose father had died when he was about five years old, recalls that he was economically insecure and "just went where they would feed me" until his mother remarried. A sense of security then returned, for his stepfather treated him like a real son.

Deviant Personalities

158 There are, among Havasupai adults, several persons who as children exhibited patterns of behavior different from the norm and far from the ideal. These behavior traits have carried over into adulthood, producing in one case an apparently psychotic woman who is a problem to the community in the area of interpersonal relationships. In childhood this woman exhibited strongly introverted and antisocial tendencies, earning for herself the name of Prairie Dog because, when neighboring children came to play with her siblings, she always ran to hide behind the house and would then pop up and peek at the other children until they saw her, when she would duck from sight only to pop up in another spot. In adult life she exhibits what appear to be paranoid tendencies, consistently believing herself to be persecuted by nearly everyone else in the tribe and at the same time feeling herself in every way superior to "these ignorant people who don't know how to act right."

158 Other individuals who were considered different by members of their
578 age group, as boys were aggressive and attempted to dominate in games; others characterized them as bullies. These boys were largely avoided by other children. As adults they continue to behave aggressively and have not gained in popularity.

Another man who is said to have been disobedient and aggressive when he was a boy is now an aggressive adult somewhat feared by others and is said to be so sly that he is called "The Fox."

Several other men who are said to have been "mean boys," that is, that they were disobedient or were pranksters, are now popular and respected members of the community and apparently were acceptable and even sought after as playmates in childhood.

while medicine men had no such role. Sinyella, Manakaja, Supai Charley, and Pakadagova's father, all chiefs, made puberty dresses in former times. However, in more recent generations, Allen Akaba and Mark Hanna, both shamans, are named among those who "know how" to make such dresses. 881 292

The buckskin dress commonly worn was described by Spier (1928, 185-8). It consisted of a one-piece front section, suspended by a loop around the neck which covered the body in front from the neckline to the ankles and a back apron, tied around the waist and hanging to the ankles. Both front and back were fringed down the sides and along the lower edge. The skirt was left open on both sides, exposing a girl's thighs while she was moving about or sitting down. A rabbitskin blanket was worn over the shoulders of this dress. [177] Originally, a woven Hopi belt was preferred, but in more recent times a silver conch belt was sometimes worn.

A puberty dress differed from the ordinary one only in color; it was stained red by rubbing powdered ocher into the buckskin. [386] In the later period of using buckskin dresses for this ceremony, silver buttons occasionally were added to the skirt front, their arrangement being an individual matter. [301] Doubtless, variations in decoration were carried out according to personal perferences and materials on hand.

The only symbolic meaning of the puberty dress or its design apparently was its red color, which symbolized the menstrual blood, although no emphasis was given this point by verbalization during the ceremony. [822]

After its use at puberty, a dress was saved for wear at round dances or funerals, or on other special occasions. Its color did not make it objectionable for such future use. Although it was reported that a few women might still have their puberty dresses, the investigator was unable to find one. In each case, the woman had burned it upon the death of the man who had made it for her, or in some instances she had simply discarded it because it was old or shabby. [768]

After the practice of making buckskin puberty dresses fell into disuse, a simple cotton dress was substituted. If an old dress were used, it would be discarded later.

Today menstrual pads and all things that become soiled with blood are buried. [783] Burning them would cause a girl to be barren, to miscarry in pregnancy, or to lose all her children in infancy. [126]

Bath, Shampoo, and Paint

At the onset of her first menstrual period, a pubescent girl is bathed, her hair is shampooed, and her face and body painted by her mother, who meanwhile admonishes her to be industrious, so that she may become a good 881 515 302

291 ship period.
302
532
[114] Spier (1928, 183-97) describes clothing and personal decorations for both sexes in more detail than present informants are able to give, but some supplementary data can be added to Spier's.

291 In aboriginal days, both young girls and mature women wore a buck-
[301] skin dress of a style copied in the puberty dress already described. For daily wear, a dress apparently was uncolored. Its usual decoration consisted of buckskin fringes, hoof or bone rattles, or metal jinglers.

Feminine apparel also included hard-soled moccasins with a long upper piece wound around the leg (Spier 1928, 191), a short apron worn in front under the skirt, a wide buckskin apron or belt decorated with rattles, and a woven Hopi belt (Spier 1928, 188-9). A woman originally draped a rabbit-skin blanket around her shoulders. Spier (1928, 139) reports that the blanket was replaced by a shawl, made from four handannas, which was knotted under the chin and hung to the heels in back.

[297] Two hat styles, a woven basket type and a skin hat cut from the thigh
[295] of a mountain sheep, deer, or antelope, were reportedly worn infrequently by men in aboriginal times. Informants who described the men's hats in some detail knew of no corresponding hat ever worn by women. Another
[415] informant denied that basketry hats were ever worn by either sex, stating that baskets of this shape were in daily use as food bowls, both as containers and as receptacles for food to be eaten. For protection from the sun, women stripped the long leaves from a yucca, tore them in half, and wrapped two a three of them around the head and knotted them on the forehead.

Present informants describe a later style of buckskin dress worn for dances until perhaps about 1940. It was fashioned from two large buckskins
[177] with sides sewn together, the buckskin sometimes being stained red with powdered ocher. A woven Hopi belt of colorful design was knotted at one side, with its ends hanging free. Metal jinglers sometimes were added to the belt ends and to the skirt edge. Necklaces and bracelets of silver,
[301] turquoise, or shell were worn with these dresses, and women painted their
[302] faces variously with red, white, or black designs. The rock for red and white paint was of local origin, but the black came from some distance and was rarely in supply.

Buckskin clothing in aboriginal times was made exclusively by men for both sexes. Dance dresses of the above style reportedly were made by
[768] Chief Watahomigie for his granddaughters, Harriet and Edna Yumiska, and by Dean Siayella for his daughter, Irene, but these dresses were destroyed upon the death of their makers. While beading was learned at boarding
[177] school by a few women now near middle age, and two or three older women had acquired the skill elsewhere, it was seldom if ever used by the Havasupai.

viving children and if they were economically able to support them. It appears that the levirate was seldom practiced if a widow had no children. An old man made the following statement: "When a man died, his widow married his brother or his cousin. A man's family wouldn't let his widow marry outside his relatives, and a widow had a right to expect another husband from them. If a widow had some children, her dead husband's brother had to marry her to take care of the children if he was a single man. If he was married, his own wife or the widow might not want the marriage so he didn't have to do it, and the widow could marry outside the family unless there was some other relative she wanted to marry. A man usually wouldn't object to marrying his brother's widow and taking care of the children even if he was already married, but his wife might not want him to." 587

Remarriage of a widow or widower too soon was considered an affront by the family of the deceased husband or wife. It appears that the bereaved family resented a quick remarriage as disrespect to the dead. The kinsmen of a deceased wife reportedly resented such an act quite as strongly as did the relatives of a deceased husband; this again, reduces the possibility that the marriage gift was a factor. If a widow remarried too soon, her farmer-in-laws could demand presents from the widow's new husband, according to Spier (1928, 233), and present informants declare that the reverse situation also applied. In the words of an old man, both the length of time involved and the manner of contracting the next marriage were important factors to consider if one wished to avoid trouble with the kinsmen of a deceased spouse: "If a man died after three or four years of marriage, and his widow remarried right away, the first husband's father or brother would shoot the new husband's horse. The new husband would have nothing to say because he would know he was in the wrong. If a widow was really in love and wanted to do the right thing, she asked the man she wanted to marry to arrange it with her dead husband's family. He would pay them a price about the same as they had paid her family. Then it was all right. The dead man's parents didn't want his widow to remain unmarried. They just wanted her to wait a year or two before she remarried. It was the same thing if a young wife died and her husband wanted to remarry right away. He could go to her parents and pay them a price, and it would be all right. If they asked sixty dollars, and he had only fifteen, he could offer the fifteen and promise the rest in a short time or whenever he could pay it. If he remarried without saying anything to them, they could ask him for money or shoot his horse or mule." 587 768

Neither the levirate nor the sororate is practiced today. No record was obtained of compensation for early remarriage of a widow or widower being made in recent years. 587

In summary, goods presented or service rendered by the groom have some features of bride price or suitor service, revealed specifically in the private opinion of some men that they were buying a wife, in the occasional practice of the levirate, and in the part played by a deceased husband's 585

Death

The customs pertaining to death and disposal of the dead were reported by James (1903, 259-64) for the turn of the century and by Spier (1928, 267-9, 292-3) for a period about 20 years later. Their accounts, together with my recent observations, provide rather detailed documentation for abandonment of cremation in favor of burial and establishment of a different mourning ceremony by diffusion from neighboring tribes and assimilation of certain ideas from white contact. The Mohave dance which Spier saw being practiced is now performed as a regular feature of the funeral complex, and I participated in such an all night ceremony in 1951. However, an adequate treatment of such material would be too lengthy for inclusion in the present paper. 764

In brief summary, a corpse is washed and dressed in its best garments, wrapped in a blanket or placed in a coffin and buried, usually in a hole dug for the purpose. The ceremony, consisting of a dance borrowed from the Paiutes and songs from the Mohaves, both arriving via the Walapai, is held for one or more nights, depending upon the prestige of the deceased and the desire of the survivors. Gifts of clothing and personal property of the dead person are buried with the body or burned. His house is abandoned temporarily or permanently or is torn down and sometimes rebuilt on another site. A house may occasionally be burned, but this was not reported for recent years. A horse or two belonging to the deceased is shot and a few fruit trees may also be cut down. Leslie Spier (personal communication, 1957) notes that crops formerly were destroyed on the owner's death, for they were considered personal property. [177] [768] [114] [423]

Intermittently, memorial services similar to the funerals have been held about a year after death, but this custom has not been fully established among the Havasupai. In the same communication, Spier pointed out that "a memorial service, held for a single dead man or a group, at intervals of a year or longer, is characteristic of all the lower Colorado Yumans, the Walapai, the southern California tribes, and those northward through the San Joaquin valley. It was possibly derived by the Havasupai from the Walapai, indeed, probably was so derived." Such a memorial service seems contradictory to the Havasupai desire to forget the dead because of their ghost fear, and this may explain why the custom has not become more popular. In the case cited, the deceased was a favorite son. [114] [171] [765] [769]

A widow cuts her hair short but wears no special clothing. Relatives of the deceased observe a name taboo for about a year after the death, and other people are careful not to remind them of the dead so they may forget quickly. To speak the name of the dead would be to call him back to his relatives; in his loneliness he might seek to take a relative with him to the land of the dead. Survivors sometimes dream of a dead relative, and a shaman may have to sing over the dreamer to drive the spirit of the de- [551] [787] [755]

422 by women in housekeeping, food gathering and so on.
562

In former times an individual's personal property, including clothing, tools, weapons, and other small articles, was burned at his death; today, [768] it is burned or interred with him. In aboriginal days a woman seldom owned anything that was not destroyed or discarded at her death. In primitive groups most personal property is useful only to members of the original owner's sex; among the Havasupai, therefore, women inherited nothing.

Land, trees, and horses were owned and inherited by men. Land was 423 inherited by a man's sons and grandsons, or it reverted to males in his con- 428 sanguine family, usually his brothers or nephews.

Tensions and Changes

578 Today, a certain amount of feminine resentment exists against male 562 priority in land inheritance. This resentment appears strongest among 428 women without brothers who saw land pass from their fathers to male rela- 177 tives such as cousins one or more degrees removed, and among widows who failed to inherit land from their husbands. Havasupai women observe that among their white neighbors women inherit and own property, including land, an example which encourages them in their desire for rights of ownership and inheritance equal with men. Since many of the younger women have achieved some measure of economic independence, it is unlikely that this experience will lead to their submissive acceptance of an increase in emphasis upon male precedence in ownership and inheritance rights.

428 In regard to aboriginal land ownership, Spier (1928, 231) wrote: "Title 562 to land is in the hands of the men, although because of its utilization, title might better be characterized as joint ownership by the family, the economic unit that works it. Women rarely have independent control of land; those who have are invariably widows without other means of support." He em- [423] phasized, in his 1957 communication, that land is of no value to the Havasupai save as it is used. "There would have been no point for them owning land without putting it to use, at the moment or in the foreseeable future."

In the present population at least 10 women own one or more plots of 423 land. The number of feminine land owners is uncertain, because five of 562 the women have sisters unmarried, living off the reservation, or living on the reservation but married to men who themselves own land. Under questioning, several of these women asserted that their land, or the use of it, would be redistributed, should the need arise, among their sisters under circumstances of marriage, change of residence, or widowhood. It appears that the present owners have the use of their lands, but that they hold such lands in trust for a group of related persons of which they are a part. The [428] number of feminine land owners, therefore, is subject to change on the basis of heirship not yet settled.

175 648 boundary in 1882 the Government took no active interest in the Havasupai. In 1892 a government farmer was sent to instruct them in better methods of farming and the use of metal implements.

439 For many years the Havasupai have carried on an inter-tribal trade with the Navaho and Hopi, obtaining blankets, wool, and silver work in exchange for dressed skins, and agricultural products. The Hualapai on the west trade many of their raw deer hides to the Havasupai in exchange for the Navaho and Hopi goods in addition to fruit and vegetables.

ECONOMICS

262 The present Havasupai food supply is based principally on agricultural products and meat. Corn, beans, and squash are the staples, supplemented by onions, tomatoes, melons, and other garden vegetables. Beans are of two kinds, navy and pinto—the latter a red spotted bean. The fruit crops are peaches, nectarines, apricots, and figs. [175] Peaches are said to have been introduced by John D. Lee, a Mormon, [17] who lived as a fugitive among these people for several years following 233 1857. Meat in the early days was obtained by hunting, but today most of it is from their herds of range cattle.

592 The economic unit is the household, usually consisting of parents, children, and unattached close relatives. These small groups are closely bound into large ones by blood ties. This grouping is based on, or at least correlated, with the inheritance of land on the one hand [428] and the temporary matrilocal residence on the other. Sometimes sev- 591 eral generations of these people live close together and work together, but each married couple and the progeny are regarded as a distinct [591] unit. Some young couples build a home soon after they marry, but it is customary for them to live with the wife's parents until they have a home of their own.

428 Property descends through the male line. If a man dies his effects do not descend to his wife but to his sons. The sons may hold land or stock undivided for years until they have families of their own whose diverse interests make division necessary. The widow and unmarried daughters do share in the use of the land; but they cannot [768] lay claim to it, since the widow's relatives and the daughter's children never inherit it from them. If a widow hastily re-marries, her "use" interest is lost, reverting to the other heirs. Should there be no direct heirs, the property goes to the dead man's brothers or their male descendants.

423 When not living out of the canyon in the winter, the Indians live in a section of the canyon not much more than a mile in length. Ownership of the arable land is communal. Every family has a piece of land, which is recognized as belonging to it by the rest of the tribe. By established custom the land is inherited and may be sold to a fellow tribesman. One peculiar condition that caused some trouble in the past was the ownership by one Havasupai of fruit trees growing on the lands in possession of another, brought about, it was reported, by certain complications in inheritance.

422 A short distance above Supai village Walapai Canyon branches off to the west. In the upper end is grazed a herd of individually owned cattle. The men visit the herd occasionally to bring in a beef to the [422] settlement. The meat of the animal is sold or traded and is eaten in 251 a day or two, there being no means of keeping meat other than as jerky.

Horses and cattle are owned and herded by the men alone. The men are also the owners of the house and land on which it stands. Property, such as a man's tools, buckskins, weapons, saddle, and perhaps a charm and a mask; a woman's field tools, baskets, cooking uten-

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The father and sons work their undivided fields with the assist- 593
ance of their wives; the new son-in-law works with his wife's family 591
until he breaks away to return to his father's house.

In the village there are probably fifty camps or family units. In 621
each household are usually found some unattached relatives of close 591
degree—widows, widowers or orphans. The orphans are cared for by 736
the relatives of either parent, seemingly without prejudice to the interests of the children of the relatives on the other side of the family.

A council of comparatively recent origin, settles most disputes and 624
the tribe acknowledges three chiefs: Manakaja, the old chief, Watch- [177
omidja, the Big Chief, and Big Jim, the Little Chief. Chieftainship is 623]
inherited, but there are also men who have become chiefs through 626
prestige and renown, or both. The principal duties of the chief are giving advice and admonitions. They tell their people how to act, especially the young men and women. The men are admonished to work hard, farm, dress skins, and hunt, while the women make baskets, cook, plant, and gather wild food. They are told not to be lazy, to take good care of their families, their fields, and their stock.

It is the duty of the chiefs to speak to the people on appropriate 624
occasions such as dances, gatherings to discuss important tribal matters, at death ceremonies, or informally at sweat lodges. The advice of the Big Chief seems to carry more weight than that of the others, in part because of his position, but largely because he is a stronger character. Personal qualifications are an important factor in chieftain- [156
ship. A chief must be industrious, even tempered, and dignified; a son who does not display such qualities has little chance of becoming a chief.

Marriages are now monogamous, though polygamy once existed. 177
The only restriction is that blood relations may not marry. The young 595
people usually arrange their own marriages though parental consent 582
is sought. Gifts are still interchanged. 584

There is no taboo between a husband or wife and the parents-in- 601
law. A man may talk freely to his wife's parents or a woman may 606
talk freely to her husband's parents. However, neither husband nor wife address the parents-in-law by name. The wife has no relationship term to apply to them. She may use their names by way of reference. A woman when speaking to her husband may say *mamadjidjia*, your mother, *mamadjitaiha*, your father, or *humagatum*, your parents. The word *ginyega* is used by a man when referring to the parents of his wife, though not when talking to them.

Divorce in the early days was granted only on the grounds of un- 177
faithfulness, but today the Havasupai observe white man's laws gov- 586
erning marriage and divorce. A widow is expected to remain in 768
mourning six months or longer before she marries again, although 765
some marry in three or four months.

For about a month before the birth of baby the expectant mother 262
and her husband must observe numerous taboos. They must not eat 845
meat and the woman alone must not eat salty foods. During this time she must use a stick to scratch herself. These restrictions are relaxed a month after delivery. Failure to observe these rules will result in complications at birth, it is believed.

There is no particular ceremony following the birth of a baby. 852
The infant is placed on the cradle board as soon as it is washed. The 854
old women attendants mould the head, face, and limbs of the new born child lightly with the finger tips; point the chin, rub the bridge of the nose, and massage the gums. They do this every time the child is bathed. Babies are kept on the cradle board most of the time until [182
they are able to walk. The Havasupai woman usually carries the cradle board in her arms rather than on her back.

Generally a child is named when it begins to play about and takes 553

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when the bathers come out they plunge into the stream, or lie on the sand and rest until their turn again. 515 517

Horse racing is patterned after foot racing of former times. The race is to a point and return. Considerable attention is given to the preparation of the course on which the race is to be held, also to the selection of horses. Races are usually for stakes and on special occasions, as the Peach Dance, a purse is offered the winner. The horsemen do not jockey for a start, but start from stand-still. 544 [525]

Men and boys often hold wrestling contests. The contestants approach each other in a slightly crouching position and lock their arms around each other's body. Kicking and striking are not permitted. The winner must be able to hold his man flat on the ground. 526

The Havasupai children are expert swimmers, often learning the art very young. Mothers toss the small children in the creek of deep water and in almost no time they paddle their way to the bank, one would hardly say they are taught to paddle for it seems to come instinctively. 868 481

As canyon climbers the Havasupai probably surpass all other tribes. Their muscles are developed by constant practice and they run up and down the steep canyon trails in a manner to excite the envy of our college athletes. 481 147

When an individual is very ill and it is feared that he may die, relatives gather and begin to wail. A corpse is laid with the head to the northwest, the hair washed in yucca suds, and the face painted. Clothes are usually furnished by friends and relatives. The following day every one gathers to mourn with the family. The chiefs talk of the past life of the deceased and admonish the relatives to care for the property of the deceased and not to commit suicide. Formerly the Havasupai cremated their dead but now they are buried. Each family has a burial plot. When death occurs in a house the family moves out for a few months. Personal possessions are buried. In recent years the custom of burning personal treasures has not been as universal as formerly. 763 764 [423] 768

RELIGION

The Havasupai creation myth and other legends are very similar to those of the Mohave and Yuma Indians living along the Colorado River. [171] 773

In the Beginning there were two gods of the Universe. Tochopa was a good god and Hokomata was very bad. The good god had a very beautiful daughter, Ter,keh-eh,(1) from whom he hoped would descend the whole human race to inhabit the big world. The wicked good seemed to possess the most magical power and to demonstrate it he proudly boasted he would flood the world and destroy all creation. The good god, Tochopa, fearing he would do this, made a boat of hollow piñon log in which he hoped to save his daughter. In this log he placed necessary food and other articles and also made a lookout window. Then he brought his daughter, and telling her she must get in the log and there be sealed up, he took a sad farewell of her, closed up the end of the log and waited for the destruction of the world. It was not long before the floods began to descend. Not rain, but cataracts, rivers, and deluges came covering all the earth with water. The log floated and in safety lay Pu-keh-eh while the water rose higher and higher covering all the mountains. After a while the flood ceased and the water found a way to rush into the sea. As it dashed down it cut through rocky plateaus and made the deep canyons of the Colorado River. Soon all the water was gone and the earth began to dry. The girl found her log no longer floating. She peeped out of the window her father had placed in her boat, and, though it was misty and 539

(1) Sources of mythology here given are a Havasupai informant; Parish, History of Arizona; and The Redman, a bulletin of mythology printed at the Phoenix Indian School. [115 127]

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then, is the special form which the Havasupai have given to the combined Plains and apron dresses. Even this is not peculiar to them alone, for the Yavapai have an identical costume. Other tribes on the border of mingled distributions have made the combination in other ways; the Kaibab have added a short front apron over the Plains dress, the Navaho linked two squares of cloth in the manner of the Plains dress, while quite another combination is the use of aprons and long dress alternately, as among the Klamath. Here we have illustrations of two kinds of cultural composition, namely combination and duplication.

We may observe another process, the transfer of a technique, in the sex division of labor. All work in skins is in the hands of Havasupai men from the butchery of a deer to the manufacture of a woman's dress. Skin dressing by men was also the custom among the Navaho, Yavapai, and Cocopa. Skin dressing and working in the Plains, on the other hand, is a womanly task, which suggests that in the Southwest the Pueblo idea of men as garment workers has been transferred to another material among their Rancheria neighbors.

Quite another analysis may be made in the case of games. It is possible to show that the moccasin game of the upper Mississippi drainage and the Southwestern hidden ball game, while superficially alike, are so because of convergent development.

To turn to quite another sphere, we find here ownership of fruit trees independent of the ground on which they stand, a feature strongly reminiscent of parts of Melanesia and the west coast of Africa. The factors in this development are obvious. Havasupai ownership of land is really ownership of the produce of the land, which is looked upon as so much personal property. Like other personal belongings, the standing crops are ordinarily cut down and burned on the death of their owner. Fruits (peaches, ultimately derived from Spanish sources, and nuts) were seemingly brought in as personal possessions and maintained as such. It is, then, quite in harmony with Havasupai sentiment toward land produce that the few fruit trees should be looked on as personal belongings to be disposed of by testament or sale regardless of the site they occupy.

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Several changes have occurred since Spier's visits. The Indians no longer spend the fall and winter months of each year on the Plateau gathering wild foods and hunting. Males are more prominent nowadays as workers of agricultural land, possibly because this is the chief source of food, whereas in earlier times male hunting and female gathering were important supplementary food-getting activities, especially during the season of Plateau residence. White influence, too, is undoubtedly effective in promoting male predominance. Correlated with the above changes, the custom of temporary matrilocal postmarital residence is disappearing.

Out of 57 intra-village marriages in the past 30 years, 38 were clearly patrilocal, 16 intermediate, and 3 permanently matriocal. The patrilocal couples all work on the husband's family's land, or have already inherited a share of it. All of the 16 "intermediate" couples live where they do because of various exigencies involving the inheritance of the land they work and/or the acquisition of one of the few permanent type houses. Of the three cases of matrilocality, two occurred because the male's father's household had died out. The other case is that of Spoonhead, who inherited no land from his own family. The reason for this will be mentioned later.

It therefore appears that the second of Spier's conditions has taken place to some extent, namely, an increase in male prominence with more regularity in patrilocal residence. Furthermore, this seems correlated with patrilineal inheritance of land. Apparently this inheritance, however, has not been of the sort that has furthered the patrilineal tracing of kindred. Disposal of land has often been attended by acrimonious disputes, so that one is probably justified in judging that perhaps neither individual ownership nor simple patrilineal succession are necessarily the only rules by which land is allocated. With this in mind I shall attempt to describe land rights by summing up data which involved circumstantial cases of inheritance, transactions, wills, and other overt manifestations.

Items of personal use other than land are clearly owned by the individual, and objects which are on the land—houses, crops, horses, and the few cattle—are also individually owned, for there is abundant evidence that a person can dispose of these items largely as he wishes. When he dies, much of his personal property is buried with him, his house is burned or abandoned,[4] and the crops he

[4] About half of the houses are now of a permanent type and are not burned at the occupant's death, but are temporarily abandoned, to be occupied later when needed. There is no particular rule of inheritance with respect to the permanent houses, so they can be considered negligible as a factor in this discussion of inheritance. In another type of community, house ownership could, of course, be very important. See Elsie Clews Parsons, *The Hopi-Cien*

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423 planted stand in the fields and rot or are destroyed. These things are so clearly
[422] his that it seems disgraceful that anyone else should consider using them after
768 he is dead. The land, however, is not so closely associated with the man who
uses it. He can plant on it whatever he chooses, but has no right to dispose of it
[425] as he sees fit without consulting his relatives, and additionally, the opinion of the whole closely integrated community is an important factor influencing any decision he may wish to make.

177 Tribal government is vested in the three native chiefs who are now permanent
648 members of the council created by the Indian Office, but the chiefs and the
428 council exercise little authority, although they are encouraged to do so. Prob-
621 lems of inheritance and land rights, if not solved by the family, are usually argued out and settled by general public opinion, or in extreme cases of non-agreement are carried to the Government Agent as a last resort. For several years the Indian Office has encouraged the Havasupai to make legal statements and wills which would settle the disputes so often attending redistribution of land after a death. These attempts were, of course, based on the assumption that the Havasupai men owned their land as we own ours. That this assumption was not accurate,[5] however, is attested by the fact that in most of the few cases on record, the wills were disputed, and the land was finally redistributed according to the usual complex pattern which pays little or no attention to any perverse notions of the previous occupant.

423 When Prince Wodo was a feeble old man, he wanted to turn his land over
578 to Lemuel Paya and Henry Hanna, who had been caring for him. Henry was a cousin, and Lemuel was a more distant relative by marriage. Wodo's daughter Lily, and his niece Katie, who had not taken any responsibility for his care, were left out. They started a fuss which became quite bitter. It is said that the old man was so upset that he locked himself in his house, set fire to it, and burned to death. Katie and Lily divided the land. The inheritance pattern which justified this will be discussed below; suffice it at present to note that even in this dramatic situation, Prince Wodo had no voice in the disposition of the land which he had worked all his life.

121 It should be apparent from the above discussion that familial rights outrank
125 individual rights. As mentioned before, however, the fact of disputes and
428

Complex of the Pueblos (in *Essays in Anthropology Presented to A. L. Kroeber*, pp. 229-232, Berkeley, 1936).

5 This is not said as stricture, and furthermore it does not apply to Mr Noble O. Guthrie, the present sub-agent in charge at Supai. He has made a sincere effort to understand the ways of the Indians, and has achieved considerable success. I am extremely indebted to him for his interest and cooperation.

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than a closer one. It is explicitly felt and avowed that no man should be without enough land for himself and his family, and it is this feeling which tends to keep land holdings more equalized than they would be otherwise. It is quite possible that in this factor public opinion, with a conception of community rights in land, intrudes itself most clearly and overrides the idea of familial rights.

All this is not to say that the land is at any given time always equally divided among families in accordance with the enumerated principles. For example, there is at the present time a widespread dissatisfaction with the amount of land controlled by the Sinyella family. This is because, of the once numerous family, only two brothers remain in the canyon, and they are both unable to work. Consequently they have considerably more land than they can use. This excess land lies idle because several younger members of the Sinyella family are now living outside the canyon. It is difficult to foretell exactly how the community will resolve this situation, but I should guess that if the younger Sinyellas do not return soon, someone else, probably newlyweds, will get permission to use some of the land. After a period of occupation, this land will be thought of as theirs. This is the way such conditions have often worked out previously. Spier has stated that proprietary rights in land depended most emphatically on use,[7] and this feeling seems to be strong today. It is difficult to lend a piece of land for a while, for after the new incumbent has used it for more than a couple of years, he has a pretty valid claim on it and is difficult to dislodge.

In some cases widows hold some of their husband's land, but it is usually, perhaps always, because of the magnanimity of their dead husband's relatives. As soon as a widow remarries, the land reverts to the original family.[8] In general, land tends to stay in the consanguineal family. Rarely, a daughter as well as a son may share in the family land, especially if she marries a man who has little or no land of his own. The Havasupai *say* that newlyweds should be given land by whichever family can best afford it, or preferably by both. If they are not given land outright, as is sometimes the case, they should help work the land and share in the produce of whichever family can best accommodate them. Detailed inheritance histories show that actually the husband's family tends to assume this burden more often than the girl's, but it is not a clear cut rule. As already suggested, it is this condition which seems to determine the present day post-marital residence. There is no marriage rule, beyond a feeling that close

7 *Havasupai Ethnography*, p. 231.

8 See Ruth Benedict, *Marital Property Rights in Bilateral Society* (American Anthropologist, vol. 38, pp. 368-373, 1936).

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574 gether, and piteously begged me, by look and gesture, not to resent the liberty he had taken, or deprive him of his treasures.

764 When a man dies among them, he is bathed and painted, dressed in all his richest apparel, and laid, with his face toward the rising sun, to await the funeral ceremonials. Throughout the fields and orchards, usually with corn and sunflowers growing all around them, with vines and brambles covering them, are scattered little mounds of earth and ashes. These are the funeral pyres. Over the summit, a huge collection of
● [768] wood is piled, and the dead, together with his various possessions, is laid upon the pile. This is lighted by the son and heir, or nearest other relative, and, as the flames shoot up and envelop the body, he who applied the light throws all his worldly possessions, together with those he has inherited, upon the burning pyre, slaying his favorite dogs and horses, and adding them to the last sacrifice. [775] Upon the wings of the last film of smoke the soul of his father rises, to wander whither it will, — to come back, and bring the summer rain-clouds, to minister in many ways to the wants of his children; while the naked mourner sadly wends his way homeward, "to begin life anew, as did his father," he will tell you.

775 The spirits of those for whom the last offering has been neglected become unhappy and evil ghosts, which, together with the souls of the enemy whose scalp has not been taken and burned, [727] torment the living with the weird voices of the night, or the lone moanings of the wind on the pine-covered mesas; or, [754] as demons of disease and death, obey the behests of the dread sorcerer, or war against the good offices of the happier souls.

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805 They are fairly acquainted with the principal constellations, giving them names, and regulating the planting and hunting seasons by their movements.

[P. 556A]

/101 cont./

622 and fair-minded; he ruled his people with unquestioned firmness, yet with fairness.

428 Children belong to and inherit property through the father.
614 No trace of a clan system has been found, even in the naming of
551 children, the means by which totemic names are perpetuated
[614] among the Yuman tribes of the Colorado river. In these tribes
[197] all the female descendants in the male line bear the gentile name, if such it may be called, but the Havasupai name their girls from some incident in their lives or from individual peculiarity, as, for instance, Tasáwiché, "Sunlight through the Leaves," Matékaliwa, "Flapping Ears," and Chékúchéku, "Dancing between Two Men." In so small a tribe a complete
582 clan organization, even if such existed, could hardly be per-
[182] [614] petuated, since marriages between blood relations, though comparatively remote, are inevitable, and in the case of the Havasupai they are so common that no one can fathom the intricacies of his various relationships to other members of the
584 tribe. Marriage is by consent of the girl's parents and is without
585 ceremony. Polygamy being common, property is held in
595 severalty by man and wife, and in case of separation each takes
421 his own.

764 Until very recently the dead, as in all Yuman tribes were
[177] cremated; the present form of burial is in shallow graves in the rocks at the foot of the cliff. After death the family and friends assemble to mourn and tell the departed one that they are troubled, for they do not know where he has gone. Formerly horses were killed at the grave, and all earthly possessions of the
● 768 deceased, even /102/ his peach trees, were burned. Food was burned with the body, and the dwelling was razed and taken away to be rebuilt.

755 The medicine-men in their practices use no herbs, but
756 resort wholly to incantation, believing that power to heal comes to them in childhood through dream-songs. Besides singing, the medicine-man sucks the seat of pain and pretends to extract therefrom either evil blood or foreign objects that cause the ill-
756 ness. In case of successful treatment the medicine-man is remunerated. He must keep the average of failures at a minimum,